THE ORIGINS OF THE MEDIEVAL TURBEVILLES OF WORCESTERSHIRE[1]

by William Humphreys[2]

ABSTRACT

A thorough and extensive analysis of Turbeville entries in the Calendars of State Papers suggests the probability that the Turbevilles of Worcestershire shared common ancestry with Hardy's 'D'Urbervilles' of Dorset. The criteria that subsequently emerge in an attempt to identify distinct branches of this family highlight the relevance and potential importance of prosopography in modern historical and genealogical writing.

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A literary heritage

It is surprising that the medieval family of Turbeville[3], immortalised within Thomas Hardy's '*Tess of the D'Urbervilles'*, almost escapes modern historical writers. Within the opening pages of this celebrated fictional work, Hardy (1891) leaves the reader with a tangible and sentimental, pastoral pastiche of the passing into memory of the feudal squire and the legacy of descent from a quasi-legendary Norman figurehead - Sir Paganus D'Urbeville.

At a similar time to Hardy's work, The 1682-3 Visitation of Gloucestershire (Fitzroy-Fenwick & Metcalfe, 1884, p.190), gave a pedigree of Turbeville of Twyning, nr. Tewkesbury, commencing with a Henry Turbeville *alias Turbill* (c.1492-1559), a farmer at neighbouring Baughton in Hill Croome, Worcestershire[4]. Although Henry appears to have been on the fringe of of the local farming gentry[5], only slender clues survive as to his

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1 This is one of two articles on the Turbevilles by the same author. A companion article focuses on the more celebrated family of Turbeville – feudal lords of Coity in Glamorgan, Wales and the appropriation of their heirs and descendants into families of the later medieval period. It is being submitted for publication in an American journal.

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3 There have been numerous variants of this surname according to the phonetic style of the era. In the latter medieval period '*Turbervyle*', '*Turbervill*' or '*Turbill*' were not uncommon. For the purposes of uniformity within this article, passive references have been standardised to 'Turbeville'.

4 Henry's will was dated November 1558 and, as the inventory of his goods was dated April 1559 and the will subsequently proved at Worcester that same year, a date of death in 1559 is probably correct.

5 An entry in *The Early Chancery Proceedings* (UK Public Record Office [PRO] reference C1/1479/23-24.) has revealed a case, filed c.1558, in which Elizabeth, widow of Thomas Vaughan, Gent. was suing a John Berriman for lands in Hill Croome and Baughton, Hill Croome which had been entailed to her by her late Father Thomas Turbill *alias* Trublevyle of Baughton. This Thomas appears to be synonymous with the Thomas Turbill who, as son & heir of Richard Turbill, last appears in local Manorial records c.1531. Regardless of the proximity of Elizabeth Vaughan's relationship to Henry Turbeville (d.1559), her marriage to someone designated as of 'Gentleman' status suggests that the Turbevilles of south Worcestershire clung to the fringes of minor gentry at this period. Henry Turbill's name can be found in the manorial records for Croome Symonds and Baughton (Hill Croome) where, it would appear, he served as a local juror.

true origins, origins that most probably lie with the earliest Turbevilles of Crickhowell, likely ancestors to Hardy's *D'Urbervilles*.

Previously, Grazebrook (1873) compiled an extensive and generally reliable armorial gazetteer, entitled '*The Heraldry of Worcestershire',* referring to a previous work compiled, perhaps in the late 17th century, by one Penn[6]. Grazebrook provides a transcript of a claim by Penn that the Turbevilles of Worcestershire were descended from the Turbevilles, feudal Lords of Coity in Glamorgan[7]. The origin of this statement is unknown.

Only sporadic references can be found for Turbevilles in the *Victoria County History Series* (VCH) for Worcestershire (Page, 1971, III, p.321). Here, we are given a reprise of the writing of the Victorian writer Thomas Prattinton who, in his unpublished collections of workings for a history of Worcestershire, apparently refers to a pedigree that was, in turn, lent to the Rev. Treadway Russell Nash (d.1811) for his own, earlier *History of Worcestershire* (1782). We are told by Prattinton that, according to this pedigree lent to Nash, the ancestor of the Turbevilles apparently '*came over with the Conqueror'.* Here, we have all the danger signs of Victorian genealogical work, pre-requisite claims of Conquest descent and references to a pedigree that no one in the interim has seen.

Early settlement

Although sufficient skeletal information survives in various state and manorial records to trace a Turbeville line in South Worcestershire from a Richard de Turbeville, born c.1365/70 and living 1412[8], our starting point is Rev. Robert William Eyton (d.1881), an authoritative and creditworthy historian of his era[9]. Eyton (1854-60) referred in his '*Antiquities of Shopshire*' , sub Kinlet, to the rise of the family of de Brampton who, like the Turbevilles, were partly in the service of the baronial family of Mortimer. More specifically, Eyton referred to a de Brampton deed (vol.IV, p.246), attributed by Dugdale to the reign of Richard I (1189-1199), in which Sir Brian de Brampton's sister, Margery de Brampton, is cited by her father, John de Brampton, as being the wife of a Hugh de

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6 According to Grazebrook this work was sold into the London antiquity market in mid 19th century.

7 Grazebrook (1873), p.585: *"Penn gives the arms of Turbevile as Barry of Six or and azure, three lions rampant in fesse gules** (*Papworth, observes Grazebrook, gives this coat or one resembling it to Woodburgh) *and says the family is descended from the Turbeviles, Lords of Coyty (co.Glamorgan)".* Grazebrook goes on to quote standard Turbevile arms. By comparison, the 1682-3 Visitation of Gloucestershire (Fitzroy-Fenwick & Metcalfe, 1884, p.190) attributes arms similar or identical to those given by Grazebrook but quotes a crest similar, or identical, to the one attributed by Penn, a more contemporary source.

8 There is a gap in the surviving manorial records of Ripple from c.1412 to c.1450. Although not then living this Richard de Turbeville is probably synonymous with the Richard de Turbeville cited in the de Banco Rolls of Michaelmas 1468 as grandfather of another Richard de Turbeville of neighbouring Baughton, Hill Croome – the latter Richard being sued for an illegal distress, in Baughton, by a Thomas Turbeville. Richard Turbeville, *alias* Turbill, of Boghton was appointed a collector of taxes in 1468. (*Calendar of Fine Rolls*, HMSO 1949, pp.227-228). Prattinton apparently cited a deed concerning the land of a Richard de Turbeville at Croome as early as c.1319. This is contemporaneous with the known return for a Richard de Turbeville in the Lay Subsidy Rolls of 1327. In summary, we have no surviving evidence for continuous Turbeville settlement in this part of Worcestershire between c.1327 and 1401, suggesting the family may have held tenureships at other locations.

9 An 11 volume work '*minutely concerned with feudal genealogy and it is perhaps praise enough to say that his work is often quoted by Round with high respect'* Wagner (1983, p.380).

Turbeville[10]. In this deed Margery de Turbeville (nee Brampton) was subject to a gift from her father of land at Flavell[11]. Undoubtedly, this was Flyford Flavell in Worcestershire where the de Bramptons held half a knight's fee. Dugdale's citation of this deed has resulted in a notional but possibly accurate date of c.1199[12] and appears to be the first distinct link between the Turbeville family and land in Worcestershire. Further, Sir Brian de Brampton (brother of Margery de Turbeville), in his will c.1262 (Eyton 1854-60, IV, p.249) referred to Sir John de Turbeville as '*nepotem meum'* – presumably a son of Hugh and Margery de Turbeville. This Sir John de Turbeville, who marshalled the attack on Hereford in 1265 with his brother Robert de Turbeville sen. and Sir Brian de Brampton[13], is probably synonymous with the Sir John de Turbeville (d.c.1270) of Bere, Dorset. This is pertinent, given the successor to Robert de Turbeville (d.c.1285) at Ockeford Schilling in Dorset was a Sir Brian de Turbeville – the name 'Brian' previously being absent in the Turbeville family.

Despite the adjacent location of Ripple and Eckington[14], both in southern Worcestershire and approximately 8 miles south of Flavell, it is not clear whether the Roberto de Turbervile assessed as holding lands in Eckington in the Lay Subsidy Rolls of c.1279 (Amphlett & Willis Bund, 1893)[15] is synonymous with the more easily identifiable (Sir) Robert de Turbevilles of this time in Dorset and Herefordshire. A close relationship would seem probable, as it would with the Ricardo Torbevill, who subsequently appears as a land holder in 1327 in the Lay Subsidy Rolls of adjoining Ripple (Eld, 1895)[16].

A link to neighbouring Shropshire

From 1199 almost 80 years elapse until the appearance c.1279 of a Robert de Turbeville. This can be partly explained by the inter-relationship between the Poer and Hacket families. In 1236, a John Poer renounced his claim against the Hackett family concerning a virgate of land in Wheathill, south Shropshire, 32 miles north west of Eckington (Hinton, c.1987). The impression of the Poers as impetuous landlords is underlined by the complaint in 1285 of Walter Hacket, the former ward of a Robert de Turbeville, and Hackett's wife Isabel against William Poer (son of John) who had ejected them from the

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[10] This Hugh de Turbeville is probably synonymous with the Hugh de Turbeville who was active in Dorset in the 1220's and held 2 hides at Prestpiddle (*Curia Regis Rolls*). He is also possibly the same as the Hugh de Turbeville whose *nepotis* in c.1286 was Sir Hugh de Turbeville of Crickhowell (d.1292) (Byerly, 1986, p.257).

[11] Eyton (IV, p.246) provides the following transcript which is understood to be based on a 17th century translation by Dugdale – '*John de Brampton grants to Margery his daughter, whom Hugh de Turbeville has taken to wife, all of his part of Flavel*'.

[12] This deed was witnessed by Sir William de Braose (d.1211) and another William de Braose, probably a close relation. As to why such an important feudal family such as the de Braoses witnessed a moderately minor grant of land may be explained by the belief that John de Brampton married Matilda, a daughter of William de Braose and Bertha of Hereford. The former Sir William de Braose was therefore probable brother-in-law to John de Brampton and uncle to Margery wife of Hugh de Turbeville.

[13] *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous*: HMSO (1916) p.100.

[14] The respective parish churches of Ripple & Eckington are barely 1.8 miles apart.

[15] The date of this Lay Subsidy Roll, taken during the reign of Edward I, was narrowed to sometime between 1276 and 1282 by Amphlett & Willis Bund (1893).

[16] Thomas Prattinton (cited by Page, 1971, III, p.321) apparently came across a deed citing the land of a Richard de Turbeville at Croome in Worcestershire to which Prattinton attributed the date 1319. Although I have not been able to identify this deed, the date is near enough to 1327 not to be contentious.

manor of Eckington Poer in Worcestershire which they held of the Poer family under a lease (Page, 1971, IV, p.70).

This evidence that the Hackets of Wheathill were tenants of the Poers in Eckington as early as 1225 is vital in corroborating independently the likelihood of identity, or close relationship, between the Robert de Turbeville of Eckington (c.1279) and the 'Sir' Robert de Turbeville who, between 1268 and 1272, had been holding pleas as to the assize in Walter Hackett's court at Wheathill[17]. This is made more likely by the known granting of land c.1199 at Flyford Flavell in Worcestershire to Margery, wife of Hugh de Turbeville and the subsequent right of presentation that was exercised in the same parish by Phillip Hackett, possible uncle of Walter, in 1269 (Page, 1971, IV, p.84).

History provides some evidence for us to be moderately sure a Robert de Turbeville died between July 1284 and October 1285, the latter year being the year the wardship of Walter Hackett passed to the Bishop of Hereford and the year in which a Bartholomew de Turbeville sought to replevy his lands at Ockeford Skilling, Dorset, for his default of payment against Sybyll, widow of Robert de Turbeville (Moor, 1932, p.56). This supports the belief that Robert de Turbeville held the wardship of Walter Hackett from c.1268-1284 with Walter Hackett probably coming of age either in 1285 or at least by 1292 when he was referred to as Lord of Wheathill[18]. Therefore, the earliest possible date the Turbevilles can definitely be associated with Wheathill is c.1268, commensurate with the betrothal of Roger Mortimer of Chirk (d.1326) to Lucy de Wafre of neighbouring Cleobury North – a family who, as will be revealed, were integral to the career of the Turbeville family in the marcher region.

Identity and chronology

It is likely that the Robert de Turbeville who was associated with Eckington was not the same Sir Robert de Turbeville who was at Hereford in 1265. There are 3 reasons for this. Firstly, the known career of Sir Robert and the positions he held necessitate he was born no later than c.1205. His subsequent disappearance from State affairs in 1271 is commensurate with his natural life expectancy. Secondly, the inference of the Miscellaneous Inquisition of 1265 after the attack on Hereford infers and necessitates the existence of a moderately prominent but ultimately junior, Robert de Turbeville in 1265. Thirdly, a known wife of a Robert de Turbeville was Sybyll, daughter to Viviana D'Eskelling – heiress of what is now known as Shillingstone in Dorset and possibly Notgrove in North Gloucestershire. Importantly, Sybyll was still living in 1326 when her son, Sir Brian de Turbeville (c.1272-1330) allowed her to have his turn of presentation to Ockeford Schilling Church (Shillingstone). She was then described as *relict* of Robert de Turbeville, inferring she had been a widow for sometime (Hutchins, 1973, III, pp.444-449).

Consequently, it is improbable that Sybyll D'Eskelling was born much before c.1245/50, inferred by the known chronology of her children, the eldest of whom (Brian) was not evident in the Calendar of State Papers until 1297 when summoned for overseas

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[17] This Sir Robert de Turbeville should not be confused with the Robert de Turbeville who was presented as Rector of Wheathill, 9th November 1288 (Capes, 1909, p.527). This latter Robert de Turbeville, whilst probably a close relation, also served as a prebendary of nearby Bridgnorth in the period c.1290/95.

[18] Although he was married to Isabel in, or by, 1285 this is potentially misleading as infant marriages were commonplace.

service[19]. Although it was not unknown for ageing knights to take brides almost 45 years their junior, the balance of probability is that we are dealing with 3 successive generations, and not necessarily father to son. Firstly there is Sir Robert c.1202-1271, whose eldest or second son, Sir Thomas (d.1294), expedited the descent of this family into obscurity[20]. Secondly, a younger son or nephew, Robert de Turbeville (c.1235-1285), strove to establish a foothold in the Shropshire/Worcestershire vicinity before marrying the minor Dorset and Gloucestershire heiress, Sybyll D'Eskelling c.1272/73. Thirdly, the latter's illicit son or nephew, a Robert de Turbeville, rector of Wheathill, Broseley and prebendary of Bridgnorth (c.1268-1295) may have been born to a Robert de Turbeville's supposed wife Isabel, widow of Robert Le Besyn who died in, or before, 1267. Isabel Le Besyn and her son Robert (whose surname is not given) were later living as tenants of the Poers at Eckington, Worcestershire, in 1285 along with Robert de Turbeville's ward – Walter Hackett (Page, 1971, IV, p.70). Such co-existence reconciles with the known order given to the jurors of Stottesdon in 1272 (of which Wheathill was a dependency) to seize the lands and property of Isabel Le Besyn and Robert de Turbeville who were then rumoured to be married without the King's consent and contrary to a grant that had already been issued (Eyton, 1854-60, III, p.21). It is very logical that Robert de Turbeville, and his possibly illicit wife, should retreat to the existing familial tenancy of his ward, Walter Hackett, at Eckington in Worcestershire.

The influence of the Mortimers

The Mortimers of Wigmore are one of a select band of families integral to revealing the career of tenurial service entered into by the Turbevilles, probably as a consequence of mutual descent from Bertha – heiress of Brecknock. It was the eldest surviving son of Sir Roger Mortimer of Wigmore (d.1282), Edmund, 1st Lord Mortimer (d.1304), who appears to have acquired the manorial lordship of Wollashall in Eckington, Worcestershire sometime between 1297 & 1302 – the same Eckington in which Robert de Turbeville held lands in c.1279. However, this Mortimer acquisition was not through tenurial descent but probably through the acquisitive nature of Edmund following the death of his younger brother William in 1297. This William Mortimer had married Hawise de Muscegross – the same Muscegross family who held Wollashall in Eckington. However, the known chronology of the family of Roger Mortimer (d.1282) would make it improbable that William Mortimer (d.1297) and Hawise de Muscegross were married much before 1280.

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[19] An otherwise obscure but important reference in the *VCH of Oxfordshire* (Pugh, 1969, IX, p.18) relates to a 'third manor' formed out of the royal demesne of Cirencester, namely Adderbury. Reference is made to Richard de Brionne, Rector of Adderbury who, in 1294, sells his half fee to Brian de Turbeville *'his kinsman & heir'* and his wife Joan. Later, in 1306, Sir Brian de Turbeville granted this half fee for life to William de Ludeford. The relevance of this conveyance is that it infers Brian de Turbeville was of age by 1294 and therefore was born no later than c.1273. It also reconciles with the known and attempted marriage of a Robert de Turbeville to Isabel, widow of Robert Le Besyn in the period 1267-1272. Eyton (1861) surmised this Isabel was daughter of Phillip Le Bret and here there may be some truth as the Richard de Brionne referred to above, Rector of Adderbury, was a paternal grandson of a sister to Thomas Le Bret who held the half fee in Adderbury c.1225, subsequently inherited by Brian de Turbeville *'the kinsman & heir'*. As we already know, Sybyll D'Eskelling was mother to Brian de Turbeville. From this we might surmise that, more realistically, Sybyll's mother – Viviana, was a Le Bret of Adderbury (who also had connections with Shropshire) and while at Adderbury was only 23 miles from Notgrove in Gloucestershire, a former D'Eskelling holding.

[20] For his relationship to his father, Sir Robert, see the *Calendar of Close Rolls 1264-68* (HMSO 1937, p.167) when he is sent on the King's business to the marcher region, also in the company of Grimbald Pauncefoote, the same Grimbald Pauncefoote, or the father of, who married Sybyll – daughter and heiress of Sir Hugh de Turbeville of Crickhowell (d.1292).

Meanwhile, William Mortimer's elder brother, Roger, Lord Mortimer of Chirk (d.1326), provides another step in understanding the dispersal of near relatives of Robert de Turbeville (d.1284/85) in the Worcester area as it was Roger's son, another Roger Mortimer (d.1333), who is thought to have married a Julianne de Turberville[21]. Having been usurped in his Chirk inheritance by his cousins, the Mortimers of Wigmore, Roger was granted the Mortimer tenancy of Tedstone Wafre in Herefordshire between 1326 and 1330.

While Tedstone Wafre itself is not relevant to our investigation it is physically adjacent to Stoke Bliss (including Kyre Parva), Worcestershire. Meanwhile, Stoke Bliss and Kyre Parva had passed into the ownership of the Mortimers c.1247 as part of their marital inheritance of the Honour of Radnor following Roger Mortimer's marriage to Eve de Braose – a granddaughter of William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke (d.1219)[22]. Some years later in 1332/33 the Lay Subsidy Rolls for Worcestershire make reference to a *Ricardo Trubleville* who held lands in Kyre Wyard, the amount of levy not being legible (Amphlett, 1899). Quite possibly he is synonymous with the *Ricardo de Torbeville* who, 5 years previously in 1327, held lands in Ripple in south Worcestershire (Amphlett, 1899) but more importantly, he is the first Turbeville that can definitively be associated with this community. As history tells us of no other members of this family at this time, it would seem to follow that this *Ricardo Trubleville* was father to, or less probably son of, the Henry de Turbeville who was returned between 1361 and 1425 as holding a moiety of a Knight's Fee at Stoke Bliss of the Lords Mortimer (Page, 1971, IV, p.350). While Henry de Turbeville effectively ceased to do this by 1398[23] we begin, for the first time, to see the roots of continuous settlement, evidenced by the charters of Kyre Park (Amphlett, 1905) which record members of the Turbeville family being involved in matters of property in Kyre and Stoke Bliss from 1400 onwards.

Although Act Book entries for wills belonging to the Diocese of Hereford survive for the Turbeville family from 1468 onwards, the lack of full documents prior to the 16th century makes it impossible to use this source to establish the proximity of the earliest Turbevilles of Stoke Bliss and Kyre Parva to the Turbevilles of Croome, 19 miles to the south east. Evidence for such a connection is provided by analysis of the careers of Robert de Turbeville (d.c.1285) – probable younger son or nephew of Sir Robert de Turbeville d.c.1271 and, when in Shropshire/Worcestershire, their constant proximity to the interests of the Mortimer or allied families[24].

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[21] The name Julianne subsequently appearing amongst the descendants of the Turbevilles of Bere in Dorset.

[22] For an authoritative summary of the descent of the original marcher lordships see Davies (1987, p.278).

[23] At an Inquisition of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, taken at Hereford on Saturday, 28 September 1398, the eve of Michaelmas, (22 Richard II), the following entry was recorded – *'Stokeblees. Half a Knight's Fee, formerly held by Henry Turbelvill and lately Margaret de Banwall'* (*Inquisitions Post Mortem,* XVII: 15-23 Richard II (1391-99) p.456). Caution is required as the same series of Inquisitions for Roger Mortimer, Earl of March (p.459) also makes reference to lands formerly held by Bartholomew and Brian de Turbeville in Dorset, both of whom were active approximately 100 years previously. This Henry de Turbeville may, just as probably, have been contemporaneous to these earlier generations. If Henry was father and not son of Richard de Turbeville, his affiliation should be sought as a younger son of John de Turbeville and Ellen de Dunre and possible brother of Robert de Turbeville of Wheathill and Eckington.

[24] Consideration should also be given as to whether the early 14th century Nicholas de Hulle of Hill Croom (d.c.1324) is the same Nicholas de Hulle who was last mentioned in 1323 in connection with the vill of Perry in Stoke Bliss, the manor which was later held of a moiety of Knight's fee of the Lord Mortimers by a Henry de Turbeville in the period 1361–1425. Neither the Nicholas de

Brothers Robert and John de Turbeville

The presence of a Robert de Turbeville, senior, at the siege of Hereford helps establish that he is an elder of this name and, more importantly, we learn he was brother of a Sir John de Turbeville (d.c.1270) who was Marshall of the Army. From this we might also infer there was a Robert de Turbeville of an age old enough and a status significant enough to cause confusion in the minds of clerks of this time, hence the designation 'sen.' Given the fraternal identification of 1265 we can say with reasonable confidence that the brothers Robert and John de Turbeville are the same John and Robert de Turbeville who, in 1257, were granted the King's protection for one year, along with other members of the Herefordshire gentry, for going to Germany[25]. We can further extend their probable identification from the Inquisition taken in 1253 (HMSO 1916, p.557) at Grossmund in Monmouthshire[26] where we learn that the manor of Sir John de Turbeville had been looted and burned and that the looters had spent the night on the property of Sir Robert de Turbeville, confirming that both these Turbevilles were then knighted and their respective properties were within a reasonable vicinity of one another and Grossmund.

From the *Book of Fees 1242/43* (HMSO 1923, pp.811-812) we learn that one of Sir John de Turbeville's holdings was Dewsall in Herefordshire – a manor adjacent to the Priory of Aconbury, Herefordshire. This religious establishment provides another significant link in our chain of investigation for at this time, Ellen de Turbeville is subject to a grant in *'frank almoin'* by her husband Sir John de Turbeville. This was the initiative of Ellen to the nuns of St.Mary, Aconbury to sustain a chaplain to celebrate in Aconbury church the lives of both her and her husband, his ancestors and their successors. Lady Catherine de Lacy transferred her interest in Stoke Bliss to Aconbury Priory in 1262 (Page, 1971, IV, p.350), Stoke Bliss being the same manor in which Henry de Turbeville later held a moiety of a knight's fee of the Lords Mortimer. Also in 1309, shortly before the emergence of a Richard de Turbeville (1332) at adjoining Kyre, the Mortimers consented to allow the vicar of Stoke Bliss (including Kyre Parva) to receive the alterages and tithes of the fee of Brecknock (Page, 1971, IV, p.353). Inexorably, these Turbevilles are linked with the service of Brecknock, its overlords and their descendants.

A tenurial legacy

The de Lacys help underline the process of tenurial 'networking' in which the Turbevilles were partaking in the marcher region. We have already observed the intricate involvement of the Turbevilles in Wheathill (formerly a de Lacy holding), then later Hill Croome in Ripple (another former de Lacy holding) and above, Aconbury (subject to a de Lacy benefaction from the same manor in which the Turbevilles were later tenants). However, such involvement and proximity to the legacy of the de Lacy family was possibly as a consequence of the Turbeville holdings in Dorset held of William Marshall,

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Hull of Stoke Bliss nor the Nicholas de Hull of Hill Croome are mentioned after 1323, and both were succeeded by a son John. Given the subsequent existence of a Nicholas de Turbeville at Kyre/Stoke Bliss, c.1362-1430, the prosopographical evidence not only indicates the possibility for joint service at Hill Croome and Stoke Bliss but also indicates that Nicholas de Turbeville's grandmother could have been a sister or daughter of Nicholas de Hull (d.c.1324).

[25] On the occasion of the election of King Henry III's brother, Richard, to the title of 'King of The Romans'.

[26] Grossmont in Monmouthshire was geographically central to the Turbeville interests in the Herefordshire region, including Clehonger approximately 9 miles north east, Crickhowell 9 miles to the west and Langeford a few miles south west.

Earl of Pembroke (d.1219). As it was Margaret de Braose, a granddaughter of William Marshall, who married Walter Lacy, Lord of Meath in Ireland (d.1241), we can understand one of the first acts of service by (Sir) Robert de Turbeville (d.c.1271) when he was witness to an undated deed of Walter de Lacy, perhaps c.1235[27].

It is with Joan Marshall of Pembroke that the probable heart of this investigation lies. Joan married Warin de Muntchesney and she was succeeded by a son (or step-son) William de Muntchesney who, in 1276, purchased the mesne lordship of Hill Croome in Ripple. In 1279 this William subsequently married, in rather dramatic circumstances, Amy de Hull, mother of Nicholas de Hull – tenurial heir to the Hill Croome lands in Worcestershire[28]. Briefly, both the mesne lordship and the tenancy of Hill Croome were united. Shortly after, the descendants of Joan Marshall became heirs to the earldom of Pembroke and, following the failure of the issue of William de Muntchesney and Amy de Hull, the mesne lordship of Hill Croome in Ripple passed to Joan's grandson, Aymer de Valence – Earl of Pembroke - the very lordship historically so inextricably linked with the Turbeville family of Dorset. Expressed another way, the Turbevilles who were tenants of lands in Dorset formerly held of William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke (d.1219) are highly likely to be ancestors to those Turbevilles who settled at Hill Croome c.1320, 100 miles to the north, in a lordship acquired in 1276 by the eventual heirs of William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke (d.1219).

The relatedness of the Turbevilles of Herefordshire to those of Dorset is perhaps best underlined by an event immediately preceding April 1255 when it appears Sir John de Turbeville had been hunting the King's deer without permission. This might be deduced from the order of 26th April 1255 when Henry III granted a licence for life to Sir John de Turbeville, to hunt the hare, the fox and the cat through the forests of Herefordshire, Gloucestershire and Dorset '*so he take not the King's great deer*'[29]. This clearly was intended to reflect the tenurial inheritance and orbit of Sir John de Turbeville (d.c.1270) and, *de facto,* his brother Sir Robert (d.c.1271).

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[27] The first initial citing we find to this Robert appears to have been on the King's business in Herefordshire in 1234 when he received a mandate from the Crown to enquire of the lands of the late Richard Marshall, Earl of Pembroke (d.1234), brother-in-law to Walter Lacy. In the same year 'Sir' Robert de Turbeville is noted in the service of Walter Marshall and in 1235 witnesses a deed between this Walter and his brother Gilbert, the then Earl of Pembroke. In 1242/43 the Book of Fees accredits Robert with several manors in Herefordshire. One, Clehonger, near Hereford, can still be identified but the manor of Langeford is not so recognisable and may now be known by a different name (Longworth was suggested by Duncumb, 1996). In the period 1241-1245 Robert witnessed several deeds of Walter Marshall who had by then succeeded to the Earldom of Pembroke, one of which concerned a grant to Tintern Abbey in Monmouthshire, also witnessed by his brother Sir John de Turbeville. Following Walter Marshall's death in 1245 the King granted Robert one year's protection for going to Ireland to account for the Irish lands of the late Earl of Pembroke. Later in 1245, as steward to the lands of the said Walter Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, Robert de Turbeville was ordered to deliver the late Earl's lands to John FitzGeoffrey – Justiciar of Ireland.

Although outside the immediate scope of this article, the John & Robert de Turbeville closely linked with mid 13th century Herefordshire, are not to be confused with the probably fraternal John & Robert de Turbeville closely associated with early 13th century Dorset. Further research may confirm the former John & Robert de Turbeville, as sons of Hugh de Turbeville, were nephews of John de Turbeville (d.c.1238) & his wife Imania, and Robert de Turbeville (d.c.1243) & his wife Isabella.

[28] For a fuller description of the events of 1276 & 1279 refer to Page (1971, III, pp.320-321).

[29] *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1255* (HMSO 1908, p.408).

A connection to north Gloucestershire

Further links derive from the orbit of the D'Eskelling *alias* Shilling family. Hutchins (1973, III, p.444-449) referring to Shillingstone (anciently Ockeford Skilling), states that Sybyll was wife of Robert de Turbeville (d.c.1285) and in turn their son, Brian de Turbeville, was grandson of Viviana D'Eskelling. Meanwhile, a Bartholomew de Turbeville sought to replevy his lands at Ockeford Schilling in the Michaelmas of 1285 for his default of payment against Sybyll, widow of Robert de Turbeville (Moor, 1932, p.56). This does not belie a mother/son relationship, more probably a brother-in-law/sister-in-law relationship. Nevertheless, some trust and nepotistic interest must have existed for in 1284 Bartholomew held the manor of Notgrove in Gloucestershire, held of the bishopric of Worcester. In the earlier part of the 13th century Notgrove had been the property of the Schilling *alias* D'Eskelling family (Herbert, 2001, IX, p.148). According to the *Red Book of Worcester* (Hollings, 1934) scutage had subsequently been paid on this holding in 1299 by a Thorostanus de Turbeville[30], possibly elder brother of Edmund de Turbeville who, in 1304 as son of Bartholomew de Turbeville, confirmed that he no longer held the tenancy of Notgrove, such service having passed to Thomas and Joan Rodborough (Herbert, 2001, IX, p.148).

Here then, we have direct clarification through the Schilling family that the Bartholomew de Turbeville of Dorset (1272, 1285 and 1304) is probably synonymous with the Bartholomew de Turbeville of North Gloucestershire (1284 and 1304). The known career of Bartholomew de Turbeville and the indication he had an adult child by at least 1304 confirm and necessitate his own birth was c.1250 at the latest, more probably c.1242/43. This confirms the supposition that the Robert de Turbeville (d.1284/85) was his elder brother[31] and Sybyll D'Eskelling his sister-in-law who, being alive in 1326, could not have been born much earlier than c.1240 and therefore not his mother. Further linkage between the Turbevilles of north Gloucestershire/south Worcestershire and Dorset is revealed by the earlier entry c.1284 in the *Red Book of Worcester* (Hollings, 1934). At this time we learn (under Notgrove) '*de Bartholomeo de Turbeville pro 1 feodo in Nategrove xls'.* In the same returns we find entries for nearby holdings for Cecilia de Muscegross, whose family held Wollashull in Eckington – 17 miles to the north west, and returns for the Earl of Hereford who, as son of Eleanor de Braose (a granddaughter of William Marshall of Pembroke), subsequently held the Lordship of Bere, Dorset as part of the Earldom of Hereford (which also by then included the marcher lordship of Brecknock).

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30 *Thorostanus de Turbeville tenet ii hidas terre in Nategrove per servitium feode 1 militis et debet scutagium, sectam curie et hundredi*

31 A Robert de Turbeville witnessed a deed of gift of Bartholomew de Turbeville concerning land in Ockeford Schilling to the Abbey of Ford. Hutchins (1973) says this gift commenced in 1272. This deed was also witnessed by a William de Turbeville who was possibly a brother to Robert and Bartholomew. Hutchins, observing an undated charter of Sir Robert de Turbeville acknowledging the grant of Viviana D'Eskelling, also notes that a Bartholomew and William de Turbeville were once more witnesses. This last charter is more interesting; not only does it carry the description that Sir Robert de Turbeville is Lord of Ockeford Schilling but if the statement of Sir Brian de Turbeville in 1310/11 is sound (that Vivian D'Eskelling was his grandmother and Robert de Turbeville his father), then this last undated charter must belong to the period c.1270 when such a marriage might have been anticipated. Alternatively, we are left with the possibility that the statement of Sir Brian de Turbeville of 1310/11 has been misunderstood or mistranslated – Sybyll D'Eskelling being a second wife of Sir Robert de Turbeville (d.c.1271) or his grandmother although the latter would seem unlikely on chronological grounds. What can also be drawn from the above is the likelihood that Thomas de Turbeville, who has previously been described as son of a Robert de Turbeville, was not brother to Robert de Turbeville (d.c.1284/85), simply because this latter Robert, *alias* Robert de Turbeville jnr. was, more probably, nephew of Sir Robert de Turbeville (d.c.1271).

The Turbevilles and their overlords

Meanwhile, when Sir John de Turbeville, brother of a 'Sir' Robert de Turbeville, died in c.1270 the heir to his lands in Dorset, was another John de Turbeville. Subsequently, in March 1271, this latter John de Turbeville was ordered to do homage to Sir Hugh de Mortimer of Chelmarsh & Sidbury (adjacent to Wheathill, Shropshire) and his wife Agatha de Ferrers for the manor of Combe in Dorset[32]. While this homage was due to the inheritance of Sir Hugh's wife, the common characteristic shared by Agatha de Ferrers and the later Mortimers was kinship through descent from William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke (d.1219). This raises the very intriguing possibility that the Robert de Turbeville (d.1284/85) central to this investigation was just as probably son of John de Turbeville (d.c.1270) – and not son of his brother Sir Robert de Turbeville (d.c.1271). This is made more probable not only because we have co-incidence of all the pre-requisite variant characters and places but also because we learn from the Calendar of Close Rolls that in 1270 a Robert de Turbeville, who is expressly designated as the junior of that name, is witness in a deed of Henry Dunye *alias* Dunre[33]. Revealingly, Sir John de Turbeville of Herefordshire and Dorset (d.c.1270) married Ellen, granddaughter of Walter Dunre of Herefordshire[34].

Unanswered questions

There remain three important questions that cannot be completely resolved. Firstly, how were the Robert de Turbeville sen. and Robert de Turbeville jun. related? Secondly, just where did Richard de Turbeville of Hill Croome (c.1319 and 1327) fit in the Turbeville family tree ? Thirdly, who was the Hugh de Turbeville (c.1170-1230) associated with Flavell in Worcestershire?

These questions can be partly answered. I have developed the concept of 'duality' to describe the situation where two persons of the same surname appear together often enough in documented public life, or only ever together, as providing evidence for a relationship, even close kinship, albeit not proven. More specifically, Robert de Turbeville 'jnr.' (d.c.1284/85) is not known to have ever appeared with Sir Robert de Turbeville 'sen.' (d.c.1271), but only ever in the orbit of the family of John de Turbeville (d.c.1270). This concept, whilst far from infallible, could be used to explain the known proximity of a Thomas de Turbeville to the activities of 'Sir' Robert de Turbeville. The concept may also be applied to the frequent joint activities of Sir John and 'Sir' Robert de Turbeville in the Marcher region in the 13th century. Only once are they expressly stated as brothers but the 'duality' principle provides supporting evidence for a close kinship. More extensive sample material may enable the concept to be extended to filial or avuncular relationships, but with a lower degree of probability.

The second of the two questions seeks to establish whether the Richard de Turbeville of Worcestershire (c.1275-1335?) was either an illicit son of Robert de Turbeville (d.1284/85) of Eckington, Wheathill and Ockeford Schilling, or a descendant of another of the sons of Sir John de Turbeville of Dewsall, Herefordshire and Bere, Dorset (d.c.1270). The failure of the male line Turbevilles at Ockeford Schilling in 1393 and subsequent female succession would seem to indicate the Richard de Turbeville of

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32 *Calendar of Close Roles. Vol. VI. 1266-1272* (HMSO 1938, p.265)

33 A Lawrence St.Maur (Seymour) was also a co-witness in the same deed. This is also useful as one of the children of Robert de Turbeville was a Lawrence de Turbeville of Ockeford Schilling (c.1275-1319), the name Lawrence previously being absent in the Turbeville family.

34 The recent publication of *Curia Regis Rolls* for the period 1243-1245 (Brand, 1999, p.7) has revealed Ellen, wife of John de Turbeville, as being daughter of Richard Dunye.

Worcestershire (c.1275-1335?) was not a legitimate descendant of Robert de Turbeville (d.1284/85) as his immediate descendants would otherwise be expected to have a prior claim to the title of Ockeford Schilling and insufficient generations would have elapsed for the relationship to be unknown.

Richard de Turbeville cannot be proved to have been associated with Worcestershire any earlier than c.1320. The orbit of the Braose relatives in the Marcher region and the application of the 'duality' principle make it feasible that the Richard de Turbeville who appears in the vicinity of (Hill) Croome in Ripple (c.1320, 1327) is the same Richard de Turbeville who appears at Kyre, 19 miles to the north-west, in 1332[35]. This is the last known reference to this individual. There is only one known record from Dorset to suggest there was a person of this name, contemporaneous to our period of analysis. Sadly, the authority is secondary coming from Hutchins (1973, Vol.III, pp.444-449). Although a further inspection of the Calendar of State Papers may clarify Hutchins' claim, we cannot yet confirm that a Richard de Turbeville served as an escheator in Dorset in 1303/04. If such an individual existed, he was possibly a nephew of Robert de Turbeville of Ockeford Schilling, Wheathill and Eckington and, *de facto*, a younger son of John de Turbeville – heir of Sir John de Turbeville (d.c.1270) of Dewsall, Herefordshire and Bere, Dorset (Bere being held of the Earls of Hereford). One further clue that Richard belongs to this later generation is the existence of several charters emanating from Robert de Turbeville (d.c.1284/85) and his probable brother, Bartholomew de Turbeville (d.c.1305/10). Mostly, these can be attributed to the 1270s and, as the transcripts provided by Hutchins (1973) do not make any reference to a Richard de Turbeville ever acting as a witness, if he ever existed he was either then too young or not closely enough related.

Indirectly, this supports the supposition that the origins of the Turbevilles of Worcestershire possibly lie with the shadowy Richard de Turbeville, one time escheator of Dorset. This Richard was, on chronological and onomastic grounds, a possible second or younger son[36] of John de Turbeville of Bere (d.c.1289), himself the eldest son of Sir John de Turbeville (d.c.1270). However, we must not exclude the possibility that the Richard de Turbeville of Worcestershire was an illicit son of Robert de Turbeville (d.c.1284) and Isabel Le Besyn (nee Le Bret). Alternatively, his parentage may lie with the Henry de Turbeville of Stoke Bliss and Kyre Parva, whose actual existence may be a century prior to that inferred by the surviving evidence.

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[35] The known chronology of suspected descendants does not rule out the scope that this was, just as probably, a father/son relationship.

[36] The Richard de Turbeville of Acton Torville in Gloucestershire, and Catmore and Hendred in Berkshire, (born 1265 and alive in 1290) is also highly unlikely to be a parent, as all his properties were settled on his sister Amice (de Arches). She remarried, secondly, Rogo de Gascelyn, and later received all the properties of her uncle, Geoffrey de Turbeville of Catmore in Berkshire. This implies that the Berkshire branch of the Turbeville family failed in the male line early in the 14th century. If male issue survived in Worcestershire one might have expected them to have received or contested settlement of property and the surviving records afford not the slightest evidence of this. Also, the tenurial orbit of the Turbevilles of Berkshire is not 'synchronised' to the tenurial orbit of the Turbevilles of Herefordshire, Dorset and Worcestershire. Finally, the failure of names distinct to the Berkshire Turbevilles i.e. Geoffrey & Roger to transmit to the Turbevilles of Worcestershire rather confirms the supposition that the Turbevilles of Berkshire are not relevant to our immediate investigation.

Our final thoughts turn to the origins of the Hugh de Turbeville[37] who married Margery de Brampton. The skeletal evidence that survives suggests he may have been born c.1170. His successful attempt at marrying a descendant of Bertha of Hereford – heiress of Brecknock, supports the idea that he was seeking to consolidate interests in the marcher region. Evidence from charters indicates the existence of a fraternal Hugh and Richard de Turbeville who made grants in the vicinity of Dorset, Somerset, Devon and Brecknock which are likely to be attributable to the mid 12th century. The onomastic evidence would once again suggest proximity to the earliest Turbevilles of Crickhowell in the former Welsh county of Brecknock. The earliest known Turbeville associated with this Welsh lordship is a Robert de Turbeville who appears (c.1121) as a tenant of Bernard de Newmarch (Lloyd, 1959, p.988) – probable ancestor to the Turbevilles of Dorset and Worcestershire.

In conclusion, one of the more important fictional families - Hardy's 'D'Urbervilles', loosely inspired by the real life Turbevilles of Dorset, probably do share a common ancestor with the infamous and semi mythical Sir Paganus de Turbeville *'Y Cythrawl' 'The Demon',* but it is highly improbable they descend from Sir Paganus himself[38]. Further, the real dramatic irony lies in probable junior descendants of the Turbevilles of Bere who, by the late 13th/early 14th century, had settled in Worcestershire. Their landed interests ever diminished and the family had, by the 17th century, largely but not completely fallen into the social strata of tenant farmers, not infrequently allowing their name to be corrupted to 'Turbeyfield' or 'Turbill'. Just as Mr. Hardy would have us believe with his very credible Jack Durbeyfield.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the Staff of Worcester Record Office for their patience and consideration in providing documents and references in the course of research undertaken for this article (1995 – 2003).

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[37] He is probably synonymous with the Hugh de Turbeville who held two hides of land at Prestpiddle in Dorset and, at the turn of the 13thcentury, witnessed several deeds in connection with Brecon Priory. One particular deed mentions a tithe to be taken from the land of Hugh de Turbeville for the lighting of the Priory of St. John, Brecon. Whether this was a historical and geographical reference to land for identification purposes is not clear but the language of the deed would imply the land was stewarded and that Hugh de Turbeville was not primarily resident in the vicinity. The *Curia Regis Rolls of 1222/23* (HMSO 1958, II, p.351) support this in referring to the grant/licence of Hugh de Turbeville to Christchurch Priory, Dorset. Not only does this passage include reference to a virgate of land at Prestpiddle but it also infers his actions are in right of his/their inheritance of Hugh de Turbeville of Wales – presumably the Hugh I de Turbeville who was active in the mid 12th century in Somerset, Dorset and Brecon. Hugh II de Turbeville's *'nepotis'* in c.1286 (Byerly, 1986, p.257) was Sir Hugh III de Turbeville (d.1292) whose line ended in an heiress. This latter Sir Hugh was, according to Moor (1932), a co-heir of Roger de Merlay of Hampshire in 1250, possibly the same Roger de Merlay who c.1216/30 was witness to a charter in connection with the Priory of St. John, Brecon.

[38] This would tend to support the view of Wagner (1983) who, when referring to the Turbevilles of Wales, said *'a common origin with the Turbevilles of Dorset, whom Thomas Hardy transmuted into the D'Urberville ancestors of Tess, is probable'.*

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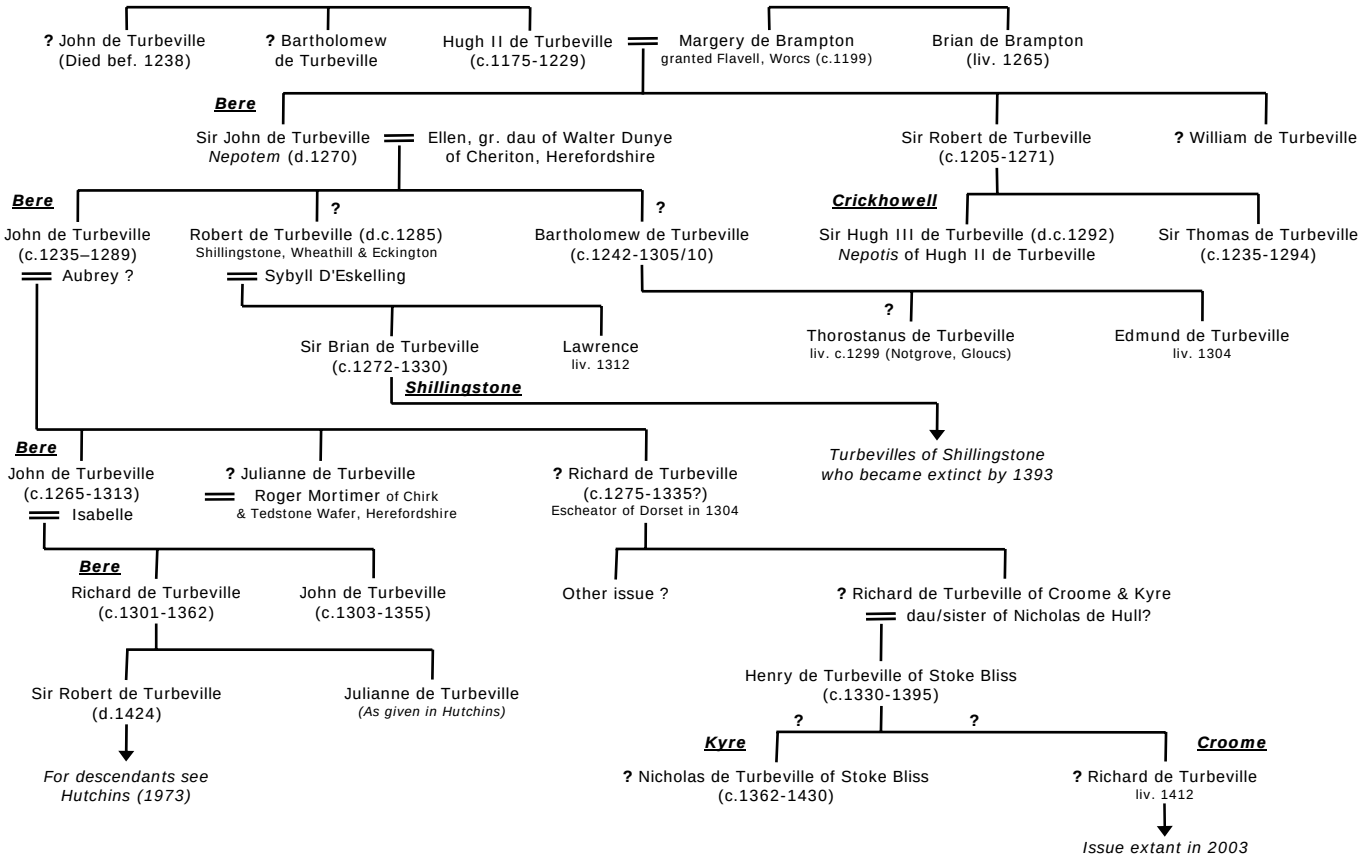


Fig 1. ***Abridged family tree illustrating the probable but ultimately conjectural descent of the Turbevilles of Worcestershire from Hardy's D'Urbervilles of King's Bere, Dorset***

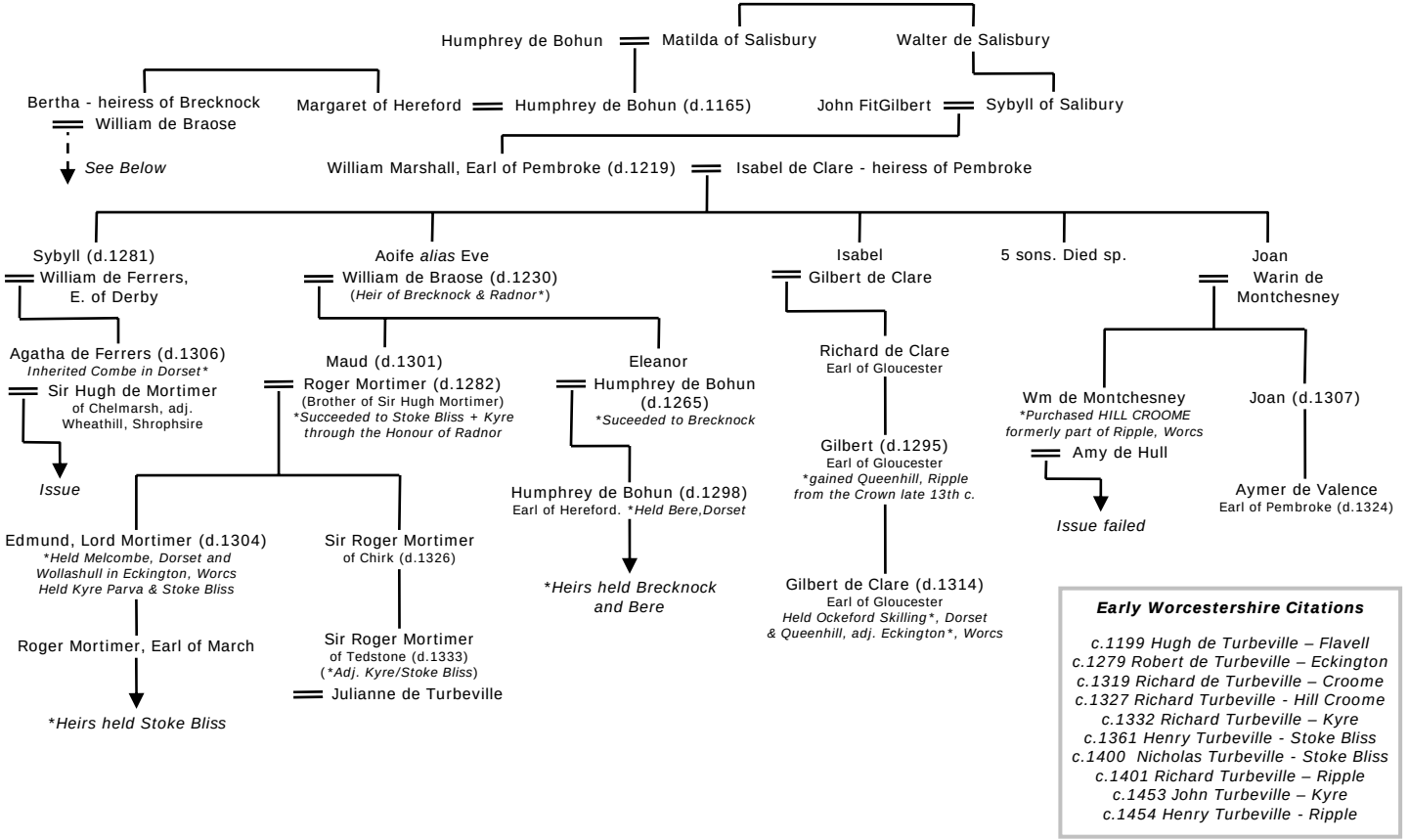


Fig 2. ***Familial Chart illustrating the partitioning and growth of landed interests by the heirs of William Marshall in the Marcher, Worcestershire and Dorset region***